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New York

President:	Ms. Herfkens	(Netherlands)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau.

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00-77015 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.50 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Guinea-Bissau

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Senegal, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I welcome the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Imbali (Guinea-Bissau) took a seat at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jagne (Gambia), Mr. Fall (Guinea), Mr. Gouveia (Mozambique) and Mr. Ka (Senegal) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Callisto Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, Africa Region.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Madavo to take a seat at the Council table.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 27 November 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Mozambique to the United Nations, in which Mozambique, in its capacity as President of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, requests that an invitation be extended to Mrs. Dulce Maria Pereira, Executive Secretary of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, under rule 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure.

That letter will be issued as document S/2000/1130.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mrs. Pereira.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I now call on the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: Let me begin by saying that I am very pleased to join the Council today for this important meeting on Guinea-Bissau, which could not be more timely. Last week's armed showdown between the head of the former military junta and the elected President, which nearly plunged the country back into turmoil, underscores the precariousness of the stability in that country, as in many others which are recovering from conflict.

In this connection, I should like to thank the Council for taking a firm and timely stand last week, as well as those leaders in and outside the subregion who have contributed to the peaceful end of the crisis. I wish also to commend my Representative, Mr. Nana-Sinkam, for his tireless peacemaking efforts. The situation has improved, but requires close monitoring.

I would like to take this opportunity, however, to urge the Government to manage the aftermath of the latest crisis within the rule of law and with due regard to democratic principles and national reconciliation.

Let me now turn to the main subject of my remarks, which is the challenge of post-conflict peace-building and some of the lessons to be drawn from the United Nations experience in Guinea-Bissau. Post-conflict peace-building includes a range of measures intended to prevent a relapse into a cycle of conflict and instability. To be effective, it needs to address the root causes of conflict, not just the symptoms. In the case of Guinea-Bissau, these causes include weak State institutions, a disgruntled and highly politicized army, endemic poverty, a crippling debt and an insecure internal and external environment.

Addressing such a grave range of causes requires, on the part of the Government and the international community, not only difficult political decisions, but also a serious and long-term commitment, supported by the timely deployment of resources. Regrettably, as the case of Guinea-Bissau amply demonstrates, neither the Government nor the international community is always fully prepared or able to play an effective role. A number of institutional and political lessons can be drawn here. I will mention just a few of them.

First, the political nature of many post-conflict crises requires action of the type which should normally be undertaken by a sovereign Government, but which the post-conflict Government may not always be in a position to undertake, owing to challenges from undemocratic forces. Ideally, of course, the newly elected Government should be in the driver's seat. But this is not always the case and may not be possible, particularly if State institutions are weak, the coffers are empty and the legitimacy of the Government is seriously challenged. This situation should, therefore, be taken into account when devising mandates for new peace-building missions or when revising the mandates or considering exit strategies for existing ones.

Secondly, because of its multi-disciplinary nature, post-conflict peace-building often falls between relief and traditional development assistance, and therefore its needs go largely unmet because it falls between these two. Although both the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Bretton Woods institutions — and I am happy that our colleague from the World Bank is here with us — have developed new and flexible financial instruments dedicated to post-conflict recovery, these instruments remain modest and under-funded. The donor community, including the international financial institutions, must find a way to strike a balance between the need for macroeconomic stability on the one hand, and peace-related priorities which require greater tolerance for public sector expenditures and budget deficits, on the other.

Thirdly, the representative of the Secretary-General is increasingly being asked to take on responsibilities for which his office is not funded or mandated. In the case of the United Nations Office in Guinea-Bissau, during the most recent crisis, my Representative was called upon by the Government and other political forces to play a "frontline" mediation role.

Such a role tends to be especially prominent in the early stages of a post-conflict situation, when State institutions are weakest, the legitimacy of a new Government is challenged and the distrust and animosity between the political and military forces are highest. But that role cannot be carried out without resources. I intend, therefore, to seek the legislative bodies' approval for one of the recommendations in the Brahimi report.

I refer to the recommendation, and I quote, that:

> "A small percentage of a mission's first year budget should be made available to the representative or special representative of the Secretary-General leading the mission in order to fund quick impact projects in its area of operations, with the advice of the United Nations country team's resident coordinator". (*S/2000/809, para. 47 (a)*)

I hope I can count on the support of Council members.

Peace-building is a multidimensional process. Its objective is not merely to dismantle the structures of violence but also to assist in building the structures of lasting peace and in laying the foundations of sustainable development. It requires comprehensive strategies involving all relevant actors and embracing multiple sectors of activity, including political, military, diplomatic, development, human rights, humanitarian and many others. In essence, peace-building is simply conflict prevention, but with the additional challenges of an immediate, fragile transitional situation. If we needed a reminder of this lesson, Guinea-Bissau provided it last week.

I am glad that you will continue to devote your efforts to making the Organization more effective in this crucial area of our mission for peace and security, and I look forward to the results of your deliberations.

The President: Mr. Secretary-General, that was a very important and profound statement. Because I think you touched upon all the important aspects of the case we discussed today, also reminding us of some of the lessons learned in earlier post-conflict situations, some of which, you reminded us, still have to be implemented, and it was important to draw our attention to that.

I now welcome and call on Mr. Callisto Madavo.

Mr. Madavo: Madam President, Mr. Secretary-General, we are indeed honoured and very pleased to be invited to participate in the discussion on this occasion.

As the Council knows, the World Bank has been supporting the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its reconstruction efforts. Our Board approved an economic rehabilitation and recovery credit in May that provides financial and technical assistance to reconstruction, including the demobilization of former combatants. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has also provided support through its emergency post-conflict facility.

World Bank staff are in frequent contact with the national authorities and with our multilateral and bilateral partners. We believe that, while the overall situation remains fragile because of tense relations within the existing coalition and the visible influence of the military in a generally unstable neighbourhood, the overall situation has improved in recent months on both the political and economic fronts.

Despite the recent instability in Guinea-Bissau, we are reassured by the elected Government's commitment to dialogue as an approach to resolve problems. We have also been impressed by the progress made in the preparation of new projects proposed for World Bank support and by the Government's overall reconstruction efforts.

While progress has been made in the above-mentioned areas, much remains to be done to restore normalcy. The energy situation is desperate; the financial sector is very weak; landmines pose a danger and, in addition, basic social services such as education and health have yet to be fully restored. The World Bank stands ready to assist the Government in those key sectors, but Guinea-Bissau will need to rely on the continued and expanded assistance of the international community if it is to overcome some of these challenges.

The World Bank has been working closely with the IMF, the African Development Bank, the European Union, the West African Development Bank and other multilateral partners in Guinea-Bissau, including the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Food Programme (WFP).

We appreciate, in particular, the generous assistance of the Government of the Netherlands, with which we have been collaborating on the demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration programme. The Netherlands has been instrumental in financing the preparation of the programme, which is critical to complement the technical assistance being provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). While programme preparation has been moving somewhat more slowly than initially expected, after the deployment of technical assistance by the IOM, the situation has improved considerably.

A census of combatants has been under way, and we expect that in January a pilot programme will be launched, with a demobilization programme moving to full implementation immediately afterwards.

To mobilize financing for the programme, a multi-donor trust fund was recently set up in the World Bank at the request of the Government. Though the Netherlands has made an important initial contribution of six million guilders, this falls short of what is needed and assistance will be required from other partners.

The Council is aware that Guinea-Bissau is a highly indebted country which is being considered for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Debt Initiative The staff of the World Bank and the IMF are currently preparing a HIPC decision-point document which will be presented to our Board on 14 December. Accompanying the analysis of our staff will be the Government's interim poverty reduction strategy paper, which it has recently completed after broad consultations with domestic stakeholders and external partners.

The interim poverty reduction strategy paper constitutes a serious initial effort to put together a package to promote sustained growth and poverty reduction. It highlights selected areas such as governance, demobilization, education, health and, no less important, the fight against HIV/AIDS.

The Government has already mobilized significant support from other donors but will require additional financial help to achieve its objectives. The proposed HIPC debt relief would give Guinea-Bissau a reduction of 85 per cent in net present value terms on

its multilateral and bilateral official debt. This would be the deepest debt relief granted to date. The debt relief would help Guinea-Bissau to keep up progress towards national reconciliation and to lay the foundations of sustained growth and poverty reduction. It would also contribute to paving the way for easing the tensions in the subregion, which has seen its share of violence, instability and growing poverty.

At a recent discussion of a HIPC preliminary document, the directors of the World Bank acknowledged Guinea-Bissau's track record in implementing macroeconomic reforms since 1998, and commended the country for its progress in reconciliation and reconstruction after the violent conflict that erupted in June 1998. They noted that, despite improvements achieved so far, Guinea-Bissau faces considerable challenges under the reform agenda. These include maintaining sound macroeconomic policies, improving governance, carrying out demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, developing the private sector and reallocating public expenditures towards activities that promote growth, reduce poverty and enhance access to social services.

The executive directors of the World Bank further reconfirmed their preliminary determination that Guinea-Bissau is eligible for assistance under the HIPC Initiative, as I have already mentioned, on the basis of its high debt burden and the track record of performance under programmes supported by both the World Bank and the IMF.

To summarize, progress is being made to bring peace and stability, so necessary for Guinea-Bissau's development and the reduction of poverty among its people. We believe that the international community should take a risk for peace and accompany this process. The World Bank and the IMF are prepared to do their part in coalition with other partners and in support of the Government's own efforts.

The President: I hope that members will allow me to say that many of us very much welcome the increased involvement of the international financial institutions in post-conflict peace-building. I am not sure if I can say that beyond my national capacity, but many of us, I think, do.

I understand that you are talking today here also on behalf of the International Monetary Fund. If that is so, I warmly welcome it, because one voice from 19th Street, Washington, is a very good first step towards more coherence in the international development architecture that I think everybody would welcome here — I may again go beyond my national capacity; I am not sure how often I can do this.

I hope everybody will agree that it would be a good idea if I now give the floor to the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Mr. Faustino Imbali.

Mr. Imbali (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): I feel particularly honoured to have the privilege to take the floor on behalf of my country in the Council gathered today for a special meeting on Guinea-Bissau.

Allow me first, Madam President, to convey to you the warmest greetings from His Excellency the President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Kumba Yalá, who cannot be with us today, although he is with us in spirit.

The broad-based coalition Government — made up of the Party for Social Renewal and the Resistance of Guinea-Bissau-Bafatá Movement — resulting from the last elections assumed the responsibility for the destinies of our people in a most unique situation. The bloody political and military conflict of 7 June 1998 worsened the structural difficulties that have marked our country throughout the last 25 years.

The historical origins of these difficulties are linked to the adoption, immediately following independence, of a strategy of growth based on the central management of the economy. The strong governmental intervention in economic life distorted the allocation of resources and obstructed the adequate development of the farming potential of the country. Accordingly, the economy grew slowly and the country became dependent on international aid, aggravating the level of poverty of our population.

To correct internal and external imbalances at the end of the 1980s, Guinea-Bissau initiated its first structural adjustment programme, supported by two Structural Adjustment Facility agreements and two Structural Adjustment credits from the International Development Association. The results of these reforms were unsatisfactory, causing social indicators to continue to decline and relegating Guinea-Bissau to the group of the poorest countries in the world, with an extremely low human development index.

However, between 1997 and 1998, with the deepening of the reform process and the adoption of the African Financial Community Franc (FCFA) after the accession of the country to the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) on 2 May 1997, the largest macroeconomic imbalances were reduced, internal production accelerated, primarily in the agricultural sector, inflation was reduced and the private sector began to grow and play a more dynamic role in the economy. Having been able to achieve an important economic performance in the short period of time allowed the country to regain the confidence of its development partners, the country saw a significant impact on its social indicators. The successful conclusion of the implementation of the triennial agreement with the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) at the beginning of 1998 created the necessary conditions for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to consider Guinea-Bissau eligible for the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative in April 1998.

Guinea-Bissau was three months from the HIPC decision point when the conflict of 7 June 1998 broke out. The conflict's deep-rooted causes were: the inadequate management of the demobilization and reintegration process of ex-combatants from the war of independence; the incapacity of the democratic process to gain roots and the frequent and unpunished violations of the Constitution; the blocking of the institutions that maintain the balance of power and of the mechanisms that guarantee transparent public management; the personalization of power, its exclusive service in the interest of groups and chronic internal instability with subregional repercussions; the postponement of local elections foreseen to complete the cycle of democratic consultations, which would have given the citizens greater participation in the management of the country; and the serious social crisis aggravated by the growing gaps between the rich minority, who took advantage of the opportunities created by their government positions, and the rest of the nation, impoverished and with lessening prospects of ameliorating their situation.

The consequences of this conflict were catastrophic, since, besides the loss of human life, the people of Guinea-Bissau were deeply traumatized by this civil war in a country with low population density and complex family ties. The level of poverty was further exacerbated. The use of heavy artillery caused the massive destruction of the socio-economic infrastructures, provoking the collapse of such essential services as health care and education. The destruction of the economic infrastructures and the decapitalization of the private sector are today considered to be sources of social ills linked to the decline of employment and the reduction of purchasing power.

One of the major effects of the armed conflict was undoubtedly the increase in the number of people living in poverty, the planting of an estimated 15,000 mines throughout the territory and the distribution of an undetermined number of light weapons within civil society.

To face the grim situation resulting from the war, the Government of National Unity, whose mandate was short-term, concentrated its efforts on the social and economic recovery of the country, the reconciliation of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the creation of conditions for the return of democracy through free and transparent elections. The round-table conference that took place in Geneva from 4 to 5 May 1999 was a way for the Government of National Unity to mobilize resources for its emergency programme.

The international community's pledge to donate an estimated $200 million to Guinea-Bissau has not materialized to this day. Nevertheless, the good intentions of some development partners have enabled the partial financing of the programme to demobilize combatants, the efforts to revitalize the private sector and the holding of free elections, allowing Guinea-Bissau to return to democracy with the creation of democratic institutions.

The broad-based coalition Government has a solid parliamentary base and, conscious of the challenges and difficulties posed in the light of the post-conflict situation and the high expectations of the people of Guinea-Bissau who voted massively for change, has elaborated a legislative programme based on earlier efforts at post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, choosing as its primary objectives good governance and the fight against poverty.

During the nine months of its rule, the Government has given priority to the following: the creation of institutional conditions for the transparent management of state affairs, including the establishment of an office for public tenders; the international auditing process of state accounts; a diagnostic of public finances that was undertaken in

October this year by an independent consultancy; the reorganization and strengthening of the Court of Accounts and of the High-Level Inspection Against Corruption and the development of a national programme of good governance; the reorganization of the armed forces through the adoption of a series of laws and a programme on the demobilization and reintegration of combatants; the implementation of the necessary reforms for the re-establishment of macroeconomic stability, with customs and fiscal reforms in line with efforts for regional integration converging with the West African Monetary Union and the West African Economic and Monetary Union; the *ad referendum* agreement on a triennial programme (2000-2003) with the International Monetary Fund; the elaboration of an interim document on the National Strategy for Poverty Reduction on the basis of consultations with representatives of civil society, the private sector of the armed forces and development partners; and the reorientation of public spending, investing in social sectors and focusing on the need to guarantee stability, justice and public order.

I have the pleasure to announce that human rights are respected in Guinea-Bissau, a fact that can be confirmed by the President of the League of Human Rights of Guinea-Bissau, who is present in this room today. That institution has, in the past few months, developed joint actions with the Government for the promotion and protection of the rights and fundamental liberties of citizens. An example of such action is the training by the League of 250 police officers in human rights and citizenship.

A true separation of power exists in Guinea-Bissau, evident in the recent election of the President of the Supreme Court. There is also freedom of the press. However, government efforts have been overshadowed by two major factors: the insufficiency of financial resources to address the country's post-conflict problems; and the constant interference by a military group led by Brigadier Ansumane Mane, who has never hidden his intentions against the formation of democratic armed forces, but did conceal his intentions to overthrow the constitutional power, in complicity with some political parties, which culminated in the unsuccessful coup d'état of 22 November 2000. During this attempted coup, our armed forces mobilized themselves in defence of democracy, returned freedom to our people and submitted to constitutional order and the rule of law, in a rare example of stability in Africa.

Today more than ever, we are determined to fight for the development of our country. It is in this light that we appeal to the international community for help in overcoming the following challenges. First, our armed forces require reorganization. An important step has already been taken in this regard with the previously mentioned legislative package on the armed forces and national defence. However, the root of the problem concerns the current number of military personnel. The conflict of 7 June caused their numbers to triple, weighing heavily on the national budget. To face this situation, the Government is implementing, with funds from the World Bank, a programme for the demobilization and reintegration of combatants. Unfortunately, the credit provided by the Bank does not cover the more delicate issues of the programme, requiring the mobilization of additional financial resources. If this complex problem is not resolved, it will affect the Government's ability to mobilize resources for the social and productive areas.

The second challenge is the crippling debt burden, now exceeding $800 million, with debt-servicing costs at close to $34 million. A recent analysis of the sustainability of Guinea-Bissau's external debt, made in consultation with the technical bodies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, indicates that, even with favourable levels projected for exports, the relation between the updated level of debt and Guinea-Bissau's exports, after the application of the traditional debt-relief measures, remains, in the medium term, substantially above the levels of debt sustainability in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative. The Council will agree that, in the face of this grave situation, and without special treatment and the exemption of the traditional conditionalities of this debt, all efforts in the fight against poverty will be futile. It is in this light that we are working on a package of reforms and are making intense contacts with our bilateral and multilateral partners, hoping to receive from them the necessary assistance for that debt relief, within the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative.

The final challenge is peace and security at the subregional level, in particular in Casamance. The President of the Republic, Mr. Kumba Yalá, has always said, "Guinea-Bissau is not and will never be part of this conflict, but it will be part of its solution". I would

like once again to reaffirm to the Council my country's firm position in that regard.

The painful experiences of the war of independence and the recent political and military conflict of 7 June 1998, and its collateral effects, have taught us that war is not the best way to resolve a conflict. Bearing this in mind and respectful of the principle of good-neighbourliness, we are certain that true stability in Guinea-Bissau and in the subregion will not be possible without peace in neighbouring Casamance. We therefore make ourselves available to participate in a peaceful search for peace in the subregion, fully respecting the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and the United Nations Charter. The contacts made by His Excellency the President of the Republic during his trips to Senegal, Gambia, Nigeria, Libya and the Republic of Guinea testify to his desire for peace.

Today, my country is considered the most stable in the subregion. For that reason, and because of its history, Guinea-Bissau intends to play a front-line role in the search for peaceful solutions regarding the resolution of conflicts and guarantees of stability in the subregion.

We sincerely believe we are following the right path. The challenges ahead are great, but they can be faced realistically. The Government and the people of Guinea-Bissau appeal to the international community to help us in the fight against poverty, in the consolidation of democracy and in assuring sustainable development for our country. Allow me to reaffirm our intention to continue to focus our efforts on guaranteeing the transparent management of the State and the rational and careful use of the resources placed at our disposal.

In closing, I would like, on behalf of the people of Guinea-Bissau, to express our most sincere thanks and our greatest appreciation for all that has been done for my country by the international community.

The President: I thank the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau for his very comprehensive and informative statement, which will greatly enhance the quality of our debate. I think that one of the lessons learned in post-conflict situations is that for post-conflict peace-building to be successful it has to be inclusive. I commend the Vice-Prime Minister on the fact that his delegation is indeed very inclusive: it includes representatives from the private sector — both for-profit and non-profit — and from parliament; I think that is a very good sign that post-conflict peace-building will be successful, because it will be inclusive.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I wish at the outset to welcome to this important meeting the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and to thank him for his opening remarks, which were, as usual, most lucid. I wish also to welcome the high-level delegation of Guinea-Bissau led by the Vice-Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Faustino Imbali, as well as Mr. Callisto Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, Africa Region.

I must not fail also to thank the delegation of the Netherlands which, throughout its presidency, and building on the report (S/2000/809) of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, has involved the Council in a most useful consideration of how to deal with crisis situations. Today's meeting, on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, is consistent with that approach.

Both the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau and Mr. Madavo admirably described the highly precarious situation, to which I shall refer solely to express my delegation's satisfaction at the political strides made and to censure the former military junta for its irresponsible actions taken, inter alia, through the events of last week. Mali is delighted also at the improvement in Guinea-Bissau's relations with Senegal and with Guinea.

Let me focus now on problems with regard to post-conflict peace-building in Guinea-Bissau. Here, I have three comments to make. The first bears on the domestic and external context for Guinea-Bissau. In the domestic sphere, it is clear that a legitimate, democratic regime is in place, but is unable to implement its policies. The determination of the people to bring about change, as reflected in President Kumba Yalá's decisive victory, is powerful, which defines the short-term and medium-term post-election policies of the new Guinea-Bissau authorities. It is key, first and foremost, to strengthen the spirit of national reconciliation, consolidate the rule of law, ensure the sound management of public affairs, restructure the economy, restructure the armed forces, implement a programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and combat the illicit circulation of light weapons.

Furthermore, on the international level, Guinea-Bissau must continue to improve relations with neighbouring States and to revive cooperation with the international community at large.

My second comment proceeds from what I have just said, and concerns the need to support the reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau. In the view of my delegation, two measures could prove useful here. The first would be to adopt an integrated joint approach involving the United Nations system and the international financial institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Earlier, Mr. Madavo made encouraging commitments along those lines. Such synergy is essential as we pursue the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the proper unfolding of the peace process in Guinea-Bissau. In the same vein, more closely concerted action by bilateral and multilateral partners would also help consolidate peace in Guinea-Bissau. In that regard, the round table to be held at Geneva in February 2001 will be a test.

I must also stress the adverse effect of conditionalities, of the debt burden and of unfulfilled pledges for assistance to the economic and social reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau, and hence to peace-building. Here, we call upon the donor community to make substantial contributions to the three-year programme scheduled to begin next year.

My third comment relates to efforts by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and by the United Nations to build peace in Guinea-Bissau. Their activities in that regard have been most complementary, which has made it possible to achieve some good results; now, those results must be consolidated. For its part, ECOWAS will continue to play its full part in this enterprise. We were pleased at the establishment of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau, and we hail the very active role played by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Guinea-Bissau.

My delegation fully supports the draft presidential statement to be adopted at the end of this meeting because it fully reflects our concerns.

The President: In terms of logistics, when I flew in last night I first thought that we could do this in the morning. But I think members will agree with me that, if we are a little bit realistic, I should actually suspend the meeting for lunch and then we should return in the afternoon. I am actually planning to do that around 1.15 p.m., and then we could come back at 3 p.m. I thought it would be useful to announce that I have given up in terms of trying to finish our debate before lunch.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): It is a special pleasure for Bangladesh to see you, Madam President, presiding over the Council's meeting this morning. I agree with the Secretary-General that we should have women presidents more often.

The presence in the Council today of the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Faustino Imbali, is very much welcomed by us, as is his statement.

We thank the Secretary-General for his important statement and his specific recommendations relating to the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

In his last report, the Secretary-General identified the progress made towards post-conflict peace-building in that country, as well as the challenges to that process. Those challenges were quite apparent during the past week, when the former military junta — or at least a part of it led by General Ansumane Mane — challenged the democratically elected Government, flouting constitutional order and threatening to plunge the country back into chaos and violence.

We are happy that the moves orchestrated by General Mane and his supporters have failed. Democracy and constitutional order have been upheld in Guinea-Bissau. This has to be consolidated by furthering cooperation and reconciliation in the country so that a smooth transition from conflict management to post-conflict peace-building can take place. We are encouraged by the statement made by the Vice-President of the World Bank that covered this and related areas. We would like to highlight five critical areas among the urgent tasks facing Guinea-Bissau in this transition.

First, strengthening democratic institutions and practices would prevent any relapse into violence. All parties concerned, and especially the former military junta in Guinea-Bissau, must therefore continue to uphold the results of the elections held last December and respect civilian rule in the country.

Secondly, without a successful process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), permanent peace will elude Guinea-Bissau. The Secretary-General has noted in his report that a pilot

DDR project is to start in January 2001. This matter needs urgent attention. All constraints on successful DDR have to be addressed — not least of which is the question of timely funding — for there to be successful implementation of the peace process in Guinea-Bissau.

Thirdly, during the recent incidents a large number of people were internally displaced. They need the urgent attention of the international community.

Fourthly, sustainable development makes peace sustainable. Lasting peace in Guinea-Bissau depends on economic regeneration. The efforts of the Government can be successful only with significant international assistance. We hope that the resources needed will be forthcoming at the next round table, scheduled for February 2001 in Geneva.

Fifthly, and finally, peace in Guinea-Bissau depends on peace in the region. Bangladesh welcomes the timely initiatives towards stabilization of the border region between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal. We also welcome the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and its Chairman, President Konaré, to achieve peace and stability in the region and in Guinea-Bissau. Our special appreciation also goes to the Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Samuel Nana-Sinkam, for his continuing efforts in Guinea-Bissau on behalf of the United Nations.

The President: I want to thank Ambassador Chowdhury for his call for more women presidents, particularly as it comes from him, as Bangladesh is, of course, one of the few countries of the world that can credibly make such a call.

Ms. Soderberg (United States of America): It is certainly a pleasure to be able to say "Madam President". I wish there were more madams around the table. I want to express our great appreciation for your presence here today. We also want to let you know how ably you have been represented by Ambassador van Walsum and his team during a very difficult month in the Council. We are grateful for you Government's leadership during this month. I think today's meeting is a testament to your Government's commitment to international intervention and the importance of resolving conflict and restoring order. The commitment of the Government of the Netherlands to post-conflict assistance to civil society in Guinea-Bissau is commendable, as is its support for economic recovery. I think it sets an example for all of us.

We are also very grateful to have Vice-Prime Minister Imbali and the delegation from Guinea-Bissau here. We also welcome the presence of the representative of the World Bank, Mr. Madavo, as a welcome testament to the importance of development in conflict prevention.

The United States commends the people of Guinea-Bissau for their commitment to peace and for their sustained efforts to work together to build a stronger society. We also applaud the work of United Nations personnel serving with the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of Secretary-General Annan's Representative, Mr. Samuel Nana-Sinkam, for their efforts to strengthen democratic values, promote the rule of law and encourage the protection of human rights in Guinea-Bissau. The United Nations Office represents a good example of the critical role the Organization can play in conflict resolution and post-conflict institution-building. A continued United Nations presence will serve to promote the continued viability of Guinea-Bissau's democratic institutions and to turn its attention to reconstruction and economic development. The United States support for the United Nations operation remains strong. We are pleased that the Council has given it a continuing mandate through March 2001.

While we applaud these signs of progress, recent disturbing developments in Guinea-Bissau have sounded some alarms. The fractious and ambiguous role played by General Mane and his loyalists has posed a major obstacle to reconstruction efforts since President Yala's inauguration last February. We call on General Mane and his entourage to refrain from interfering with the legitimate, popularly elected Government of President Yala.

We encourage the Government of Guinea-Bissau to develop a plan for the integration of former soldiers into the national economy, within the framework of the rule of law.

The international community would react negatively should Guinea-Bissau return to military rule under any guise. Guinea-Bissau is just beginning to recover from civil conflict. It needs peace, reconstruction and development. Nothing could hinder that more than renewed military intervention in governance. To that end, the people of Guinea-Bissau

need and deserve the support of the international community.

We should also take note of the fact that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are represented here today as an expression of their willingness to do their part. Thanks to international encouragement and intervention, Guinea-Bissau has taken the first critical steps towards the re-establishment of a society based on national reconciliation and democratic values. We must continue to support those efforts.

The United States remains committed to supporting Guinea-Bissau's recovery from two years of upheaval and disruption. We will continue to engage President Yala's Government to support the ongoing process of civil and economic reconstruction. As a member of the Group of Friends for Guinea-Bissau, the United States stands ready to do what it can to help. In a subregion fraught with many challenges and interlocking crises, the United Nations must likewise continue to do its part in assisting the Government and the people of Guinea-Bissau to build a strong foundation for peace.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me, to my mission and to the Ambassador.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus and Malta align themselves with this statement.

The European Union would like at the outset to thank you, Madam President, for organizing this debate, which is a concrete and dynamic illustration of the challenges related to the consolidation of peace and the management of post-conflict situations. We listened with great interest to the comprehensive and detailed briefing given by the Vice-Prime Minister, Mr. Faustino Fudut Imbali, for which we express our deep appreciation.

With the return of democracy, the people of Guinea-Bissau had many high expectations: the restoration of civil peace and good governance, economic and social reconstruction, secure borders and the gradual strengthening of civil institutions vis-à-vis the former military junta. At this stage, however, we cannot but acknowledge that these objectives have been only partially achieved. In spite of the successful holding of legislative and presidential elections at the beginning of the year, which gave the new institutions unarguable legitimacy, the multidimensional nature of the crisis situation affecting Guinea-Bissau has magnified its complexity and has made it imperative that it be managed in a coordinated and truly integrated manner by all the partners concerned.

The return to peace and sustainable development requires that a solution be found to structural problems. These problems are not only of a political nature — such as the relationship between the civil and the military authorities, which has up to now been sensitive and complex, and the differences that exist within the Government; they are also of an institutional nature — such as issues related to the coordination of the Government team, the general lack of public services, and the dubious management of public finances; and of an international nature.

The European Union acknowledges in this respect that the support of the donors, be they multilateral or bilateral, has lacked a consistent and coordinated strategy. Specifically, the disbursement of the promised funds was probably too slow to promote the stabilization of the post-conflict situation and the success of the democratic experience resulting from the elections of November 1999 and January 2000. The security situation in Guinea-Bissau today is facing serious risks of internal destabilization, as last week's events showed once again, and possibly even of regional destabilization.

The appointment of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the establishment of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) in June 1999 played a decisive role in the successful conclusion of the electoral process, which could not have taken place without the personal and sustained involvement of Mr. Nana Sinkam. His work, his courage and his determination also indisputably helped to achieve a successful holding last week in dealing with the threats of the destabilization of democracy.

While it is useful to begin considering right now the extension of UNOGBIS's mandate beyond March 2001, inter alia to promote the successful conclusion of

the demobilization process, there must also be a massive and determined commitment on the part of the donors in order to meet the upcoming deadlines, which are decisive.

For the European Union, this commitment cannot — at least provisionally — be based on the usual financial criteria and on classic ratios. Conditionalities must take account of the post-conflict situation. We must not lose sight of the fact that Guinea-Bissau's gross domestic product fell by 28 per cent in 1998, and that remunerated public or private employment has become scarce. The restoration of democratic sovereignty against a background of destroyed or pillaged facilities, failing telecommunications systems, depopulated administrations and public finances drained by the cost of maintaining the armed forces is a challenge that is almost impossible to meet without adequate international support. We must therefore consider and provide qualitatively and quantitatively appropriate assistance as soon as possible, with adjusted conditionalities.

The European Union believes that this assistance must include debt forgiveness and budgetary support, which would enable the Government of Guinea-Bissau to finance basic social services and ensure that salaries can be paid for a period of several months. Projects aimed at relaunching economic activities could also be implemented. For its part, the Government of Guinea-Bissau must, as soon as possible, determine what its requirements are in terms of technical assistance in order to ensure that this international assistance is properly managed. The European Union hopes to see a national effort aimed at remedying dysfunctions such as excessive per diems, overly numerous administrative missions and too many non-budgeted expenses. Changes in leadership and an in-depth reorganization of current practices must be accompanied at all levels by this necessary effort at recovery.

The new civil authorities in Guinea-Bissau had to cope last week with irresponsible behaviour on the part of some of the military forces. This was not entirely unforeseeable. The self-proclaimed military junta, led by General Mane, had not actually completed the process of its dissolution, in spite of the holding of legislative and presidential elections. The European Union welcomes the fact that the great majority of the military forces have sides with the democratically elected Government of President Kumba Yalá, as well as the support expressed by the people.

The European Union believes that in this new context, priority must be given to ensuring that such events do not recur and that Guinea-Bissau and the international community relaunch as soon as possible the process of demobilization, disarmament and, above all, reintegration of military and paramilitary forces and of former combatants. Now that a census has been completed of the former combatants and the paramilitary forces, a census of the armed forces must be taken expeditiously and transparently, so as to include in the 2001 budget a ceiling for troop strength that is realistic and financially viable. This is a prerequisite for the early conclusion of the demobilization programme.

The European Union calls on the Government of Guinea-Bissau to pursue a policy of open, inclusive dialogue allowing for the establishment of real national reconciliation. Guinea-Bissau needs peace. Guinea-Bissau also needs unity. We hope that this message can be heard by all. In this respect, the European Union will be particularly sensitive to priority actions intended to ensure respect for human rights and public freedoms. It also stresses the need to accept and preserve political, cultural and religious diversity.

In conclusion, I wish to return to the regional dimension of the Guinea-Bissau crisis. The European Union notes with interest the initiatives taken by the Senegalese and Guinea-Bissau Governments to limit the border incidents that occurred between June and September 2000. The European Union greatly welcomes the appointment by the Government of Guinea (Conakry) of a resident ambassador and the appointment by Senegal of a chargé d'affaires. The European Union hopes to see greater understanding among all the countries of the region and, in this context, the implementation of more efficient monitoring of trafficking in small arms, in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the Moratorium on the Import, Export and Manufacturing of Small Arms adopted by all the countries of the Economic Community of West African States in Bamako.

The President: Of course, Mr. Ambassador, in my national capacity I can say I agree with every word you said. But I also noted that the delegation of Guinea-Bissau and the World Bank were taking down with enthusiasm some of the things you said about the

massive commitment of donors, the need for debt relief and budget support, and although this is not a pledging session, we will take that with us towards that particular session.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): We welcome your presence among us today, Madam President, at this timely meeting on Guinea-Bissau. The events of last week showed how important it is for the Council to maintain its commitment to the efforts being made by Guinea-Bissau to strengthen peace and consolidate democracy.

(*spoke in English*)

Canada is pleased with the return to peace in Guinea-Bissau, and we welcome the Vice-Prime Minister and his delegation to our consultations today and the opportunity to discuss the situation directly with him.

Canada joins other members of the Council in reiterating support for the democratically elected Government of Guinea-Bissau. We urge the Government to continue its efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, including the subordination of the military to civilian rule. Military challenges to Government authority only destabilize Guinea-Bissau and the region more generally. Further, the continuing commitment of the international donor community and the viability of its efforts depend on maintaining stability in Guinea-Bissau.

In this regard, Canada agrees fully with the point of the draft presidential statement that stresses the importance of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration as a key element for promoting sustainable democracy and stability, and we commend particularly the efforts of the Bretton Woods institutions, especially the World Bank, in this connection.

We support the work of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau for the consolidation of peace and democracy and the promotion of respect for human rights and the rule of law.

We commend the President of Senegal, the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries for their contributions. We urge all the parties to work together to address the root causes of unrest in order to restore lasting peace for the benefit of the people of Guinea-Bissau and stability for the region.

With respect to the Secretary-General's requests for Council members' support for the implementation of the Brahimi report, particularly as regards quick impact project funds for his special representatives abroad, he can count on Canadian agreement.

The President: I think I can say, on behalf of the Secretary-General — I shall pass on the good news — that you reacted promptly indeed to his question on this particular recommendation, and he will be very pleased to hear that within two hours, at least your country is behind him.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): My delegation would like to thank you, Madam President, and your Mission for taking the initiative of holding this debate today. It is important not just for Guinea-Bissau, but also for demonstrating how this Council can take a holistic approach to the problems of conflict. My delegation would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his very thoughtful introduction to today's debate.

The Permanent Representative of France has just spoken on behalf of the European Union, and my delegation endorses everything he has said. I would just therefore like to make three brief points.

First, we were very grateful for the speech made by the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, in which he reiterated his Government's intentions to restore political and economic stability to the country, which we welcome. We believe that the recent stand-off between the Government and the junta leader, General Mane, has shown that the military is prepared to support a democratically elected civilian president. That said, we believe that the demobilization of Guinea-Bissau's very large post-conflict army, which has as many as 25,000 men, is a very high priority and a political and economic necessity.

Finally, I think this debate has shown, as we believe, that now is the right time for the international community to demonstrate its support for Guinea-Bissau.

The President: Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador for that short and focused statement.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to thank you, Madam Minister, for presiding over our

deliberations, your delegation for its initiative to convene this debate and the Secretary-General for the information and comments he has shared with us on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. I also wish to welcome the Vice-Prime Minister of that country and the important delegation that accompanies him this morning at this Security Council meeting.

We believe that the political developments of this past week in Guinea-Bissau make even more relevant our debate on the transition processes towards peace-building activities in those countries that, like Guinea-Bissau, are emerging from conflict situations. This shows the critical importance of transition periods and the need to strengthen them with all the necessary support of the Security Council and other United Nations organs.

We also believe that lessons can be drawn from the situation of Guinea-Bissau and applied to other transition processes.

In our view, the situation in Guinea-Bissau cannot be analysed in isolation; rather it should be considered within a subregional context. It cannot be separated from the political, military, economic and social situations prevailing in other West African countries, and particularly from the growing instability on the common border between Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia.

Guinea-Bissau entered a period of relative calm following the presidential elections held at the beginning of this year. However, the Security Council must closely follow the transition process even if the conflict appears to have ended. Factors of instability endure, as the recent insubordination of General Mane shows. In this case, as in others, post-conflict democratic institutions are often weak and must be supported by the international community concretely and effectively.

A multidimensional conflict such as that in Guinea-Bissau reinforces the need for a coordinated and integrated approach involving the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the relevant specialized agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions and the community of donor countries. In this context, we believe that we should be considering ways of making more operational and effective Article 65 of the Charter on cooperation between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

This coordinated and holistic approach must be adopted not just during the peace-building phase, but earlier, as the conflict is developing. That is why we believe that in the case of Guinea-Bissau, as with other conflicts since the end of the cold war, it is not possible to draw a clear-cut and definitive dividing line between peacekeeping and peace-building activities. They can, and often must, begin at the same time.

The humanitarian, institutional and economic consequences of the conflict in Guinea-Bissau have shown that bringing about lasting peace and reconciliation requires far more than a ceasefire. The conditions necessary for sustainable development within democracy must be created.

The United Nations agencies, the Bretton Woods institutions and the developed countries can, and must, play a fundamental role in building peace in Guinea-Bissau. Reducing or forgiving its external debt, granting preferential credit, opening markets to its products and increasing official development assistance and private investment will help to create a climate of stability and enable the people to enjoy the benefits of peace.

At the same time, it is clear that the primary responsibility for the resolution of the conflict rests with the leadership of Guinea-Bissau. It must be motivated by the political will to overcome the root causes of the conflict, accept the conditions imposed by the rule of law and embrace the goals of reconstruction. The Security Council and the international community must, of course, support this process, but they cannot be a substitute for the political will of the parties to make peace and to live in peace.

I would not want to conclude without expressing Argentina's appreciation for the tireless work carried out by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Samuel Nana-Sinkam. We should also like to express our appreciation to the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries for their constant support for the people of Guinea-Bissau as they move towards peace, progress and national reconciliation.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We endorse the words of gratitude expressed to you, Madam President, for organizing this important debate. We are pleased to welcome the participation in

our discussion of the Vice-Prime Minister of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, His Excellency Faustino Imbali. We listened very carefully to his statement, which provided an in-depth analysis of the situation in the country, the Government's policy and the tasks facing the people of Guinea-Bissau. We should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement.

It is remarkable that today we are discussing not only the problems of Guinea-Bissau, but the broader problem of ensuring stable post-conflict peace-building. Finding a way to resolve these problems is extremely important from the perspective of a long-term political settlement, including all the main elements, ranging from the demobilization of former combatants to the social and economic aspects, as well as from the practical point of view, particularly as regards the role of the United Nations in Guinea-Bissau. In this connection, I should like to stress the particular importance of coordinating activities within the United Nations system. Such activities must be directed towards the targeted resolution of social problems so as to overcome the consequences of the crisis.

The development of events in Guinea-Bissau provides a good illustration of the ideas that I have just expressed. We share the concern of the international community about the recent political crisis in the country and, together with other members of the Council, we appeal to all the social and political forces in Guinea-Bissau to act solely within the bounds of the Constitution.

With regard to the continued presence of the United Nations in this African country, we believe that the presence of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau is particularly important. We believe that that Office should continue to play its important initiating role of coordinator.

The President: In view of the lateness of the hour, if there is no objection, I propose to suspend the meeting now.

The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.